

SAINTS

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Imrabten, or saints, live in some of the tribes and receive local veneration. A saint is a man who possesses *baraka*, a form of magical emanation comparable to *mana*, and usually derived through descent from the Prophet. It is through its possession that he is enabled to perform supernatural acts, and his person, being charged with it, may heal persons who touch him; hence anything which he has touched has partaken of the *baraka* and is a valuable object. By exploiting the belief in these superstitions the saints make their living.

Shorfa, or alleged descendants of the Prophet, have a virtual monopoly of this business, although holy men with no claims to such descent may acquire *baraka* through their manner of living or through religious insanity. In such cases pedigrees are often doctored up for them later.

A sherif or other possessor of *baraka* may lose it through participation in warfare, breaking of religious tabus, friendly traffic with Christians, or simply ceasing to exercise it. *Shorfa* recently established in the Rif for the most part still possess and exploit their *baraka*, whereas those of long residence have usually lost it and become like the rest of the Rifians. In a family of *shorfa* one brother may choose to exploit this quality and the other brothers to live as ordinary people.

The foremost *shorfa* of the Rif are the family of Ikhemrijen, originally from Fes, who are established at Targuist, at Snada of the Beni Bu Frah, in the Beni Bu Shibet, and at Tizi Ifri, between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir. The headquarters of the family are at Targuist, at the Zawiat et Tifah, where Sidi Mohammed n Suddik is the present incumbent. Sidi Hamidu at Snada and the incumbent at Tizi Ifri are likewise said to possess *baraka*, but are not as popular as their relative. The incumbent in the Beni Bu Shibet has in some way lost his *baraka*. When I was at Targuist in 1926 I was told that Sidi Mohammed had lost his *baraka* through eating with the Spanish officers and carrying on friendly relations with them, but when I was there again in 1928 I received no further confirmation of this.

At each of the establishments of this family is a *zawia*, or school, a place of instruction comparable to a cantonal mosque with the presiding sherif as head of it.

In Beni Said there is a living saint named Sidi Mohammed who came from outside the Rif, and who has established a large *zawia*. He is an emissary of the Nasirriin, and *fokara* of this sect come once every three months from all over the Rif to pay him tribute.

In Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya dwells a delegate of the Derkawa, named Sidi Mohammed el Khok. He is a recent arrival, and has a document from the head of the sect in Fes authorizing him to establish a sanctuary in the Rif, to which Rifian Derkawa may repair so as to avoid the long journey to Fes.

Besides these active and first generation saints, there are many families descended from others long dead. Some of them do not fight and are immune from attack, and others fight and are attacked. The former are thought to possess *baraka* in a very dilute form; such is the case with the descendants of Sidi Bu Jiddain, a Zenatan, in the Beni Tusin. Sidi Bu Jiddain owned a mule with which he conversed. Once he went to Fes, where the sultan ordered him sent to jail, at which the mule cried: "That sultan is crazy." The sultan was so frightened that he ordered Sidi Bu Jiddain out of the city. Today his descendants run a *zawia* at his tomb and live on public credulity and charity.

RELIGION

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All of the Ulad Alu ben Aissa of the Gsennaya claim descent from Sidi Henda Musa, a local saint in the wall of whose tomb an old sword is stuck. It is said that when this sword is drawn the Muslimin will defeat the Christians and drive them from the land. Men have tried for years to pull it out, but no one has yet been successful. There is a *sawia* to this same saint in Beni Said; he is said to have written books foretelling the recent invasion of the Rif by the Christians, predicting that the last place to submit would be his tomb, and that while the defenders were holding out they would lack salt, and that men would kill each other for it. The Gsennaya claim that this prophecy was fulfilled. His descendants fight, even with each other, and are thought to have lost their *baraka*. A few individuals, however, such as the present Sidi Amar, have a recurrence of it. Sidi Amar is an insane man of the Ulad Alu ben Aissa who when a boy worked as share-laborer in the Beni Amart. One cold morning his mistress told him to go to the spring to fetch water, and Sidi Amar cursed the spring, expressing the wish that it should dry up. The spring did dry up, or is said to have done so, and Sidi Amar has been feared and respected ever since. His chief pleasure is going to market, where he chases women with a stick, being a confirmed misogynist. Sidi Amar went on a pilgrimage to Mekka, and when he got home claimed that he had flown through the air on the way back, and that his return journey had taken him but two days. He was laughed at until two later pilgrims came home with the story that they had checked the date of his departure from Mekka and found it to have been just two days before his arrival. After this everyone believed it, and his reputation increased. Sidi Amar, humorously called the Kaid Amar, at present has no fixed abode, but enters any house he wishes and is given food and shelter. When a man has been wounded Sidi Amar comes in and sits by him, refusing to eat until the patient is out of danger. He is reputed to have effected many cures in this way. When Sidi Amar dies, he will probably have a tomb erected on his grave, to which people will come for its *baraka*, for he has established a sufficiently miraculous reputation already to assure this.

In Iherrassen are the descendants of Sidi Hamid, saints without *baraka*. Their ancestor, a great wizard, used to write charms and then burn them, after which everyone present could see on the wall a moving picture of men walking by with guns, dogs, and mules.

In the Beni Amart live the descendants of Sidi Abd el Kadher Agenau, related to the saints of Beni Urriaghel. Those in Beni Amart have lost their *baraka* and fight continually.

The so-called *Israblen* of Beni Urriaghel, who have taken the generic word for saints as their patronym, fight and yet preserve a portion of their *baraka*; anyone attacking them is liable to a severe spell of sickness. Their ancestor, Sidi Hamid el Kroni, grew horns on his head with which to fight, so the bellicose quality of these saints started with the first generation.

The Ulad Sidi el Hajj Misaud, saints of Taurirt in Beni Urriaghel, do not fight, yet their *baraka* seems to have "turned sour"; they are considered dangerous, and are not admitted as guests by other bones. Parents will not let their children look at them. There are estimated to be twelve hundred saints in Beni Urriaghel.

Sidi Shaib u el Ftah, whose tomb is at the harbor of Temsaman, has left descendants who teach music and dancing in the *sawia*. Men who would like to learn to play the flute or *summer*, and women who wish to improve their dancing, stay there seven days and are supposed to learn what they came for in that space of time, partly through the instructors and

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792 partly through the *baraka* of the saint. The saints who teach music here are of a higher
778 class than the itinerant musicians whom they instruct.

Among the saints of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja are those at Khunduktamda, descended from Sidi Abdullah el Kholani, from whom some of the Ikhuane of the Gsennaya also claim descent. The latter send ambassadors once a year to build a fire in his tomb. At Aghbalu are saints who are students, but who fight and have no *baraka*. At Sidi Ali ben Daud in Marnissa and at Sidi Mehend u Ghulbusur are similar saints. The students of Amshesh, who have no *baraka*, are yet classed as saints and refuse to fight.

Former saints who have died without leaving descendants are remembered by tombs, usually kept by wardens living on the produce of the tomb property. Other tombs have been deserted and allowed to fall into ruins. Sometimes a pile of stones, an ordinary grave, or merely a tradition, establishes the burial-place of a saint. Tombs are often located near a great rock, a spring, a grove, or at some other place of distinctive natural appearance, such as a cave, and this indicates that the hagiolatry of the Rif, like that of other Mediterranean countries and regions, is a survival of an older nature worship. Such places are credited with special magical powers attributed to the lingering *baraka* of the saint.

The tomb of Sidi Mohammed near Bured in the Gsennaya will serve as an example. This is located in a dense clump of bushes reputed to be full of wild animals, and the home of a venerable lion. Sidi Mohammed had a lion which served him, and followed him whenever he called him. While at Fes, Sidi Mohammed heard that a lion owned by the Sultan had fought and defeated all animals put in a ring with it, and boasted publicly that his lion could vanquish that of the Sultan. For this he was put in jail. While there he sent his servant to the Rif to get his lion, which would come if the words *a seba dh' amendud* were said before the clump of bushes. The servant recited this formula and led the lion to Fes, where it defeated all the others there. The Sultan then released Sidi Mohammed with a present, and the saint returned to the Rif with the lion. After he died his tomb was built in the clump of bushes, and no one has dared to enter the bushes for many years. The warden of the tomb does not enter, but farms the land around it.

At Sidi Merj in Bokoya is a *zawiya* near a swampy pond full of lush vegetation. Students staying in the *zawiya* declare that they have seen cats and dogs go in and out of the water at night, and that these animals are *jinn*. No one goes any nearer the pond than necessary.

[842] The cantonal mosque of Iherrushen in Gsennaya is accredited with the power to cause pregnancy, through the *baraka* of Sidi Misand, who is buried there. Women come from other tribes to sleep in the mosque, since the *baraka* works during the night.

There are hundreds of these places scattered throughout the Rif and all Morocco. Although most Riffians believe in their efficacious powers, some do not, and there are many who do not believe in the powers of the Ikhemrijen shorfa and other imported saints. The people living east of Targuist do not credit them, while the Senhaja to the west of them do.

CELEBRATIONS

796 Celebrations of a religious character fall into two divisions, according to whether they are dated by the solar or lunar calendar. The former are considered by the Riffians to have nothing to do with Islam, but in accordance with the general hypocrisy of the people,

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CHAPTER I

THE BARAKA (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE):
ITS PREVALENCE

776 The Arabic word baraka means "blessing". In Morocco it is used
 ● 792 to denote a mysterious wonder-working force which is looked upon as
 196 a blessing from God, a "blessed virtue". It may be conveniently translated into English by the word "holiness".

A person who possesses baraka in an exceptional degree is called by a term corresponding to our "saint".

[36] The Berbers have berberised forms of the Arabic terms, such as ssiyid, ssaleh, and lwali; but among many of them the usual or exclusive name for a saint is amrabad or amrabd (plur. imrabden; Ait Waryager, Temsaman, At Ubahti, Ait Sadden), derived from the Arabic mrabat or mrabt, which, as we shall soon see, is not used in Morocco as a general term for saints, but only for a certain class of saints and their descendants.

[62] It is interesting to notice that certain terms for saints are also used to denote places connected with them; this shows how intimate the connection between them really is. Thus the word siyid is applied to a place where a saint is [63] buried, whether it be indicated by a qobba or bit or haus or in any other way, and some people use the same term for a place which is venerated because a saint has prayed or rested there; in Fez, however, the latter would be called the mzara or halwa of the siyid So-and-so. Other words which are used both for saints and their sanctuaries are fqr (Dukkala), agurram (Shloh), and amrabd or amrabad (Ait Sadden, Temsaman, Ait Waryager).

[64] The sanctity of a saint is communicated not only to the building in which he is buried and the objects contained in it, but to everything inside his horm or harm, that is, the sacred domain of the saint. The horm may be restricted to the building over his grave, but it may also extend far beyond it.

[65] A still more comprehensive term than horm is zawia (Berb. zzawit [Shloh], zzawit [Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager], zzaust [Temsaman]), in one of the senses in which this word is used. The town or village round the shrine of some great saint is often called his zawia.

788 Sidi Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumbers») was,
 778 according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the
 792 Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without
 173 family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from
 what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrābdhen section (*ar-rba'* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbūtsh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are *shurfā* descended from Sidi Ibrāhīm al-A'raj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

778 In any event, Sidi Bū Khiyār was to become far more important
 786 in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen. for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latter's tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sidi Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser *murābiṭīn* from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one which many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

788 The pilgrimage to Sidi Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local festival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the
 778 Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the
 575 'Alawiyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members
 795 bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

778 The tomb of Sidi Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which
 133 overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith 'Ammarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true alliances which join men together and not territories. While the [562] social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)¹⁵.

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792 3) The "religious group"¹⁶ satisfies the small (sic) spiritual needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the inrabthen¹⁷, who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews¹⁸, the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"¹⁹.

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.⁹⁰ A man
thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered
to be a "rich widow".⁹¹

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.⁹²

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did
not have an individual official representative who presided at meet-
ings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when
one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or
money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement
with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,

[559] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his
way toward personal power⁹³, and the jma'th, which was jealous of his

623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away
from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.

623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually
shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, liter-
ally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqrane (sing. amqqrane, literally
"big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

871 c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to
621 education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of
793 the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while
his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious
property¹⁴.

621 The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such
574 as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for
651 distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political,
economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.)
made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of
visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muma) be shared
equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the
621 iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare
241 reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th
651 lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds
from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation
ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to
[794] be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara dona-
tions to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected
in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for
this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a
792 fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who
794 must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

792 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and
794 harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on
178 the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such
794 individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th,
621 for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other
794 admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits
[594] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is. 15

423 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more
648 complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

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[24] another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which, in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above). The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

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[613] In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqwiw of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrabdhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

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792 of Malay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because "Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper imrabbden and non-shurfa status.)

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614 In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabbden, and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitivity within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitivity without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitivity and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

[648] 32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaram and his top man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Rifians to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

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648 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above. The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A, [See p.257, #14--Analyst.]

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671 Isaghwan²¹ with (the) Awlad Siddiq²², in the Wednesday Market (Suq
628 al-Arba') of Tawrirt, in the presence of their notables (Blanco:
613 note 2), agreeing there (to fulfill what has been pacted among them)
682 that anyone who should kill another by treachery or cunning (Blanco:
note 3) shall pay a great fine, the amount of which (may) be as high
as 4000 duros. This was also agreed to in their Saturday Market
(Suq al-Sabt) in front of the notaries of both parties.

On the betrayal and killing (Blanco: note 4) by the above-mentioned Awlad Siddiq of Shu'aib bin al-Hajj 'Amar, the notables of both the abovementioned markets, accompanied by the rest of the people, went to their villages to look for them, camping there until the latter paid (Blanco: note 6), although they (e.g. the Awlad Siddiq) had agreed to this in their presence and in their abovementioned market (when the agreement took place) with respect to the fine expressed above (Blanco: note 7). Upon not finding any solution which would save them except that of handing over to them all their lands, both in the mountains and in Ait 'Aisa, their houses and their documents (Blanco: note 8), with which they remained free of the pressure which the notables and the rest of the people exercised over them (they opted for surrender).

• (792) Then, everything which they handed over was valued at 1300 duros (Blanco: note 9) and after the estimate was made, the notables of both markets, including (Blanco: note 10) the sharif Sidi Ahmad bin Sidi al-Hajj Misa'ud²³, al-Hajj bin al-Hajj Am'mash al-Tawrirti, 'Allal bin Haddu bin al-Hashimi u l-Fari (of the Axt Tuzin), Haddu bin Muhammad Amzyan al-Bu Khalafi²⁴, al-Talib al-Bukhammad al-Yunusi, Tuhani bin

671 al-Faqir Siddiq al-'Arusi, Muhammad ibn Tahra, Sidi Musa ibn al-Hajj
628 Sayyid 'Amar Tahtahi, Muhammad bin Bu Hammud Mulaidi; al-Hajj Sidi
613 Misa'ud al-Manduri; Sa'id bin al-Hajj Haddu al-Ufari, Muhammad bin
682 al-Faqir Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Barzi, Muhammad Bu Shu'an, and
[792] the rest of the notables of Tzurakhth (Blanco: note 11) sold all that
was handed over to them to the brothers of the murdered man for the
above sum; converting it into money.

(Blanco: note 12) The amount stated above was levied and the
quantity (literally, price) was divided into four parts: 300 duros
for the lineage of Izzugwaghen; the same for the Awlad al-Hajj 'Amar;
the same for the Awlad Muhammad bin Muh bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-
Tazurakhti; and 150 duros for the Awlad Ahmad bin Taimunt (to be split)
with Muhammad bin Tah, and the same for Muhammad bin Taimunt bin
Misa'ud (to be split) with the Awlad Hammu Kabghith. One hundred (100)
duros were divided in half between the son of Bukhalif, that is, Siddiq
and 'Abd al-Qadir Hashsha'.

(Blanco: note 13) Each of the abovementioned parties shall
divide with its brothers (i.e. those of the same jurisdiction) the
amount which it has exacted and with regard to the quantity of the same.

671 An irrevocable and non-retractable sale, effected (Blanco:
628 note 14) for repression and exemplary punishment. The sellers having
613 levied the total of the abovementioned sum, in the upper part of the
681 present qanun, from the hands of the buyers cited above, thus liberating
432 the sellers from all actions or reclamation regarding this matter and
the above-cited buyer thus occupying (the lands) instead of the sellers,
as his share. That is to say, occupying the place of the owner in the
land, of the land which he buys and that of the owner of immovable

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
554 presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or
[182] ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by
necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social
norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between
the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always sus-
picious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
792 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
621 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because
692 of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement,
554 under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine
benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
792 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
621 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
692 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
212 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
671 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques),
527 such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the har-
521 vests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these
571 are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which
they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

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[614] 22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the
[114] village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu
'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no
record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point
we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

[681] 23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith
Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Haid) n
Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan
of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen.
It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a
crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-
fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market,
along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for
the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and
one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual
[728] ziyarh from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrit,
and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to
bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

[648] 24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu
'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quayad (qa'id of
qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian
irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards,
he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to
1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities
because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own
[115] recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I
have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of
Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear,
but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and
verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate
a document before signing his name.

[792] 26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man
figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to
list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's
most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the
courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this
reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here,
even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or
even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

[114] 29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up
this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles
of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

[426] 30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real
[423] property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or
greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains
his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

000 unlike the Central Atlas, there is no special time limit on repayment.

[614] 31--Imhawlen is the literal transliteration from the Arabic text, rather than the Rifian form Imhawren. The Imhawren are one of three subclans of the clan of the Aith 'Ari, of the lowland Aith Waryaghar; and the clan of the Aith 'Ari, along with that of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, form a single khums or "fifth" in that tribe.

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692 32--Sidi Mhand u Musa (died 1254 A.H., or 1838-39 A.D., according to one informant), the apex of the lineage of Izziqiwen of the clan of the Imrabdhen. Sidi Mhand u Musa is buried in Aith Hishim and is one of the most important saints of the Aith Waryaghar. As the text indicates, he adjudicated disputes and settled feuds (between the Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari clans); and he is said to have had a great deal of baraka, which, in accordance with Rifian notions of baraka-transmission, was successively passed down to only one descendant at a time: from Sidi Mhand u Musa to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud, bypassing his own son Sidi Siddiq; then to Sidi Misa'ud's son Sidi Hmid n Sidi Misa'ud; then to Sidi Siddiq's son, Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq; on the latter's death, to his son Sidi Muhand; on the latter's death to his son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was made qa'id of Imrabdhen by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz; and then to his brother Sidi Muhand.

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792 Some informants say that Sidi Mhand u Musa and his descendants are the only true shurfa among all the Imrabdhen in the Aith Waryaghar, and that they have the right to their share in the sunduq or box of Mulay Idris for this reason. The share in question is divided up every year at the time of the Mulud: either a representative of the Dharwa n Sidi Mhand u Musa goes to Fez to get it, or, as the descendants of Mulay Idris are said to have a complete listing of those entitled to such shares, they sent them out. The shares are the same every year, but informants were unable to tell me the amount (a fact which in itself casts suspicion on the legitimacy of their claim to be shurfa). When the allotted amount arrives in Aith Waryaghar, it is divided into four parts: one for the descendants of Sidi Misa'ud ("Burjila") n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (the Iburjilathen of Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (also in Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi Haddu n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Zawith n Tashtiwin, in the subclan of Aith Tmajurth, in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah, and in Swani, where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Nkur River, in the clan territory of the Aith 'Ari), and one for the descendants of Sidi Muhammad n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Aith Hishim).

000 33--The reference here is probably to Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari n Sidi Musa n Sidi Hmid l-Qurumi, the father of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnau, of the lineage of Aith 'Aziz in the subclan of Upper Imrabdhen. Both father and son are buried in the Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, located in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan territory of Aith Hadhifa.

Once again, with Sidi Mhand u Musa and Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari, both subclans of Imrabdhen are represented, no doubt in order to give greater validity to their roles as adjudicators, but also to the qanun itself.

- 000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.
- [776]
[732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.
- [613]
[614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.
- 69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.
- 70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.
- 71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.
- 72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.
- [464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.
- [114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.
- 75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.
- [113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.
- 77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".
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[113] 78--Mulay Admad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated (178) and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of (621) the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with (595) multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The (369) urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the (593) man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

584 The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society (571) was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situation each family sought security through a system of alliances (602) based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is (178) guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy (571) overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or descendants of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

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565 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a
 582 solid social class in the Rif because of the large and econom-
 792 ically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees
 of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists

(556) among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means.

Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked pro-

556 pensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a

565 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do

582 their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very

loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its

own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry

a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers.

They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence

in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people,

the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to

others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class enogamy, marriage in the Rif is
 relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle

whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry

because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest

rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister,

mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's

mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or

any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted

with anyone inside or outside the dchar.¹ Within any one dharfiqth

(114) ¹Hardock's information (1959:117) that Riffians do not marry their
 father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

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[779] guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926).² The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux âmes simples d'y prendre intérêt et de s'y attacher. (*Ibid.*:8)

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776 A man became a saint because of various miracles performed during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

● 792 (real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from
776 a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the
792 death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a per-
776 manent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the
778 Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek rem-
788 edy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own
behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be
made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that
attract several thousand people on specific celebration days.
These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to
the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part
of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

792 The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors.
776 There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to
778 be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the
788 more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint
782 will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or
goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial
animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party
receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third
(794) goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine,
(735) and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of
the tomb.

788 As an example of the costs involved in even a short pil-
778 grimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a
435 group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
 778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
 435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
 [755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
 [754] evil eye or a dinoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
 [494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
 [782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi,
 where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
 at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
 Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
 fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
 Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
 to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
 another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams (\$3.20) for each person. The
 chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
 cash value of \$8.00. The total expense for the group was at
 least \$45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
 cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
 family is \$60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
 would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
 age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
 instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

● 792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
 794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
 575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa.
 (A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

792 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all
 794 founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of
 575 the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator.
 [792] These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic
 [554] leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint
 794 have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends
 796 to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's
 575 abilities. New lodges or sawiya are founded, to be administered
 by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult
 grows the leader, as a result of his personal meditations with
 Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and stric-
 tures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents
 to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God
 [799] in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification,
 physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced
 along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

792 These religious associations are for the most part volun-
 794 tary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a
 575 son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although
 they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of
 my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and
 a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in com-
 peting brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within
 the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darka-
 wiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

792 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from
794 the organization to form his own association which is now the
575 largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this
brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who
belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended
in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts
of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge
is located.

792 The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a
794 certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence
575 because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are
178 criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but
[662] political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting
bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote
in local elections and to act as spies for the government.
Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular
as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a
powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with
which they are attacked.

792 The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions
794 in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well
575 as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges
where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribu-
[124] tion is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge
officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount
seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

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(124) annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwa.

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(779) Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadi or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died.

(805) The hadi itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu

(178)
(509) 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage.

Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group.

(435) The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally

(671) the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older,

(554) wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have

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626 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of

the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

316 [village of Ulaa 'Abd el-Mumin]

Caravan

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmūtīs laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulaa 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulaa 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of mūrabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or sofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

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000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When 'Abd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

631 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however,
634 in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what
619 institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life;
the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into
small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more
mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find
councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western
Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend
from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to
be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or
of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun,"
noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet
(Blarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du
Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/,
p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the
"ajmo'a" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the
"jema'a" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

631 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly.
634 if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice
619 their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their
792 pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole coun-
578 try to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouffas over
the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring
up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their
baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

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In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still looser (2).

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2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. Moreover, the marabouts form a supplementary "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^c," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Ternsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

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/176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the development of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
 631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
 614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge. In the name of their
 578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few
 weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed
 warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars,
 is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge
 from this anarchy.

• 792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
 578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live
 side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear,
 shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
 [621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
 [465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
 [794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they
 form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
 [648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan
 is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these
 populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these mara-
 bouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know
 how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of
 letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees
 them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable
 branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia,
 zawayah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over
 all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organiza-
 792 tion of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation
 of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el
 Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen,
 the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa
 among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with
 their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among
 the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel 'Alam,
 the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in re-
 cent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

/294 cont./

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182 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free political life of the mountain populations, and even when a family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

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619 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by 'Abd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

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648 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs [619] of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended